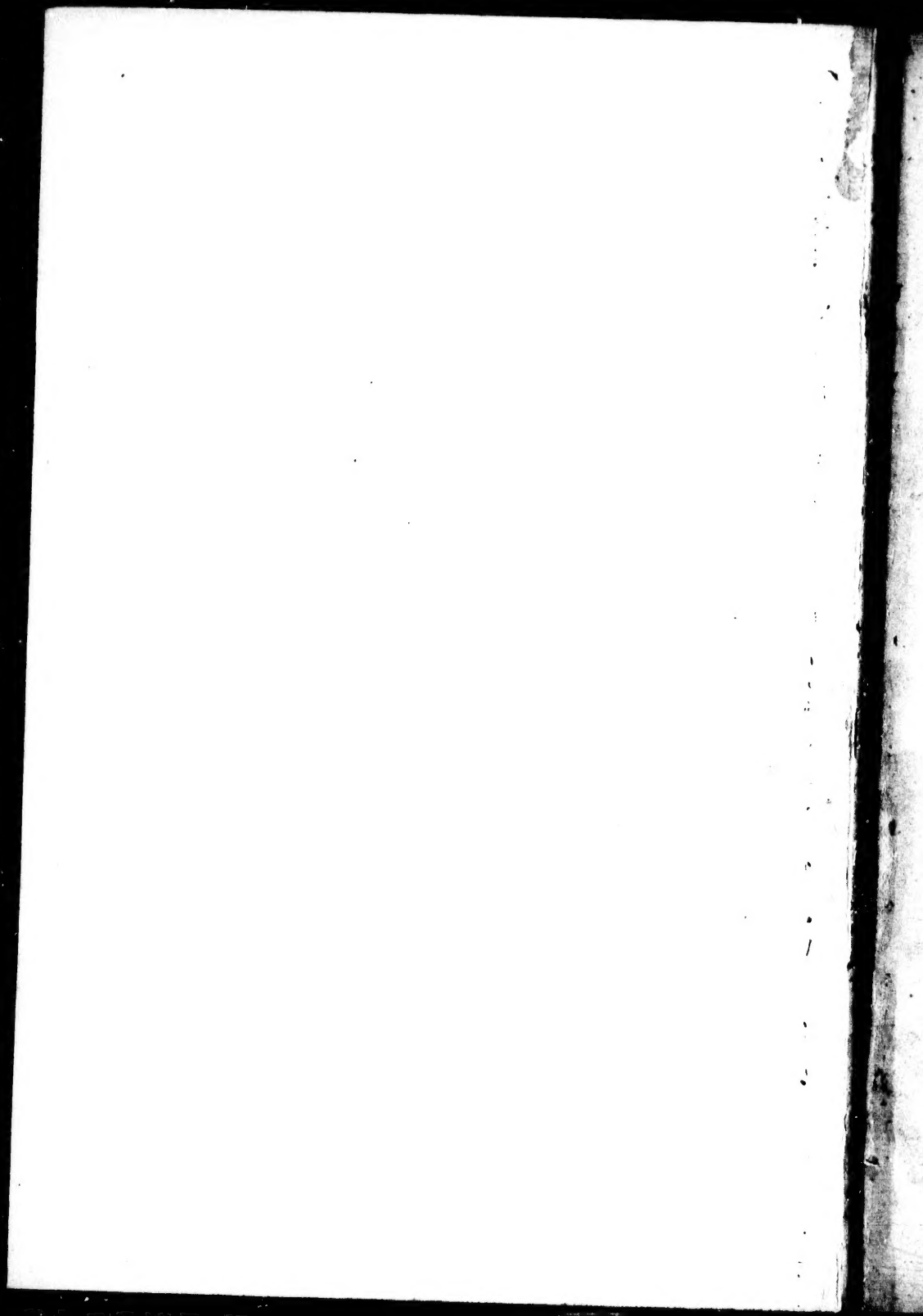




*The Effects of distant Colonization on the
Parent State ;*

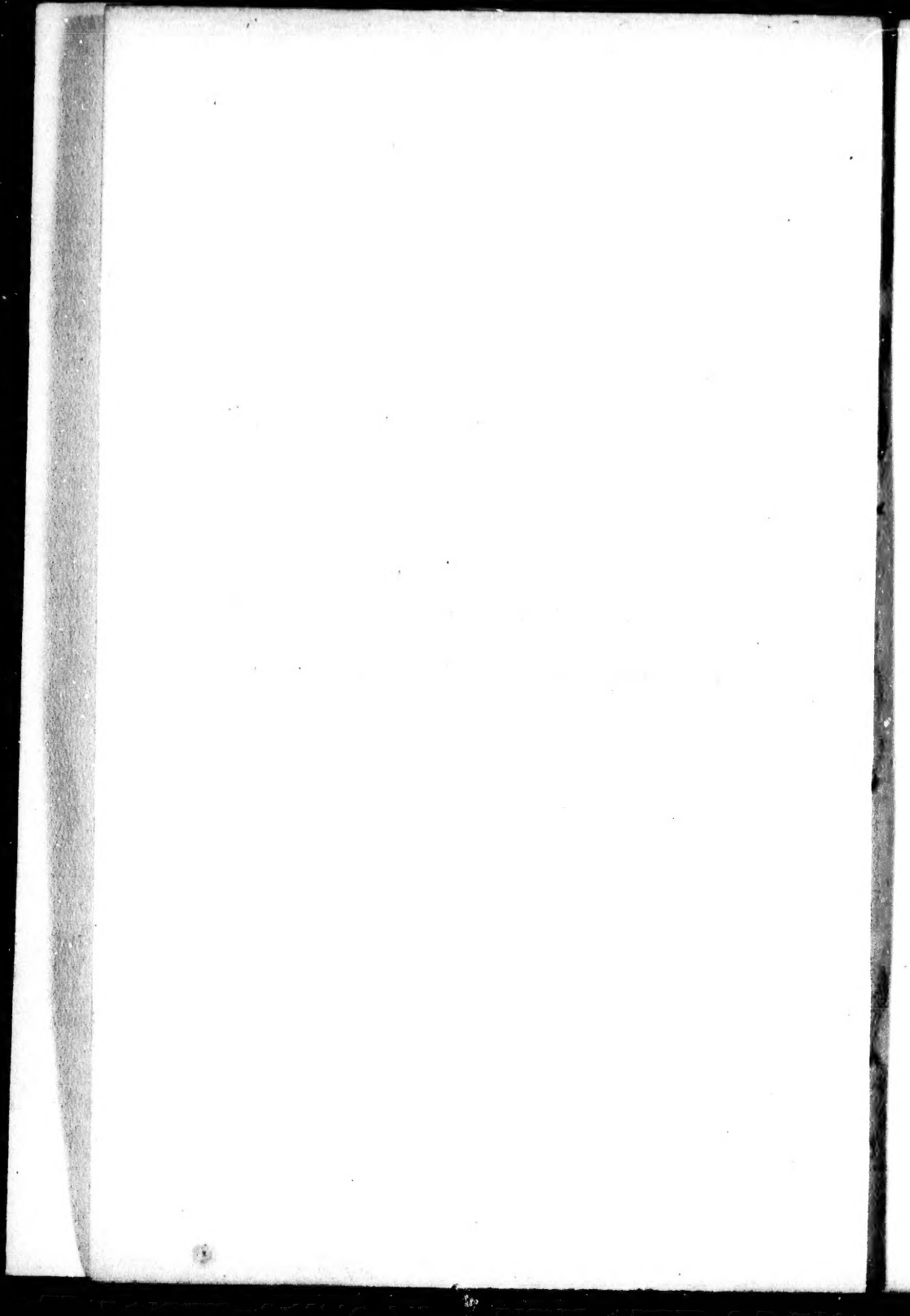
A PRIZE ESSAY,

RECITED

IN THE THEATRE AT OXFORD,

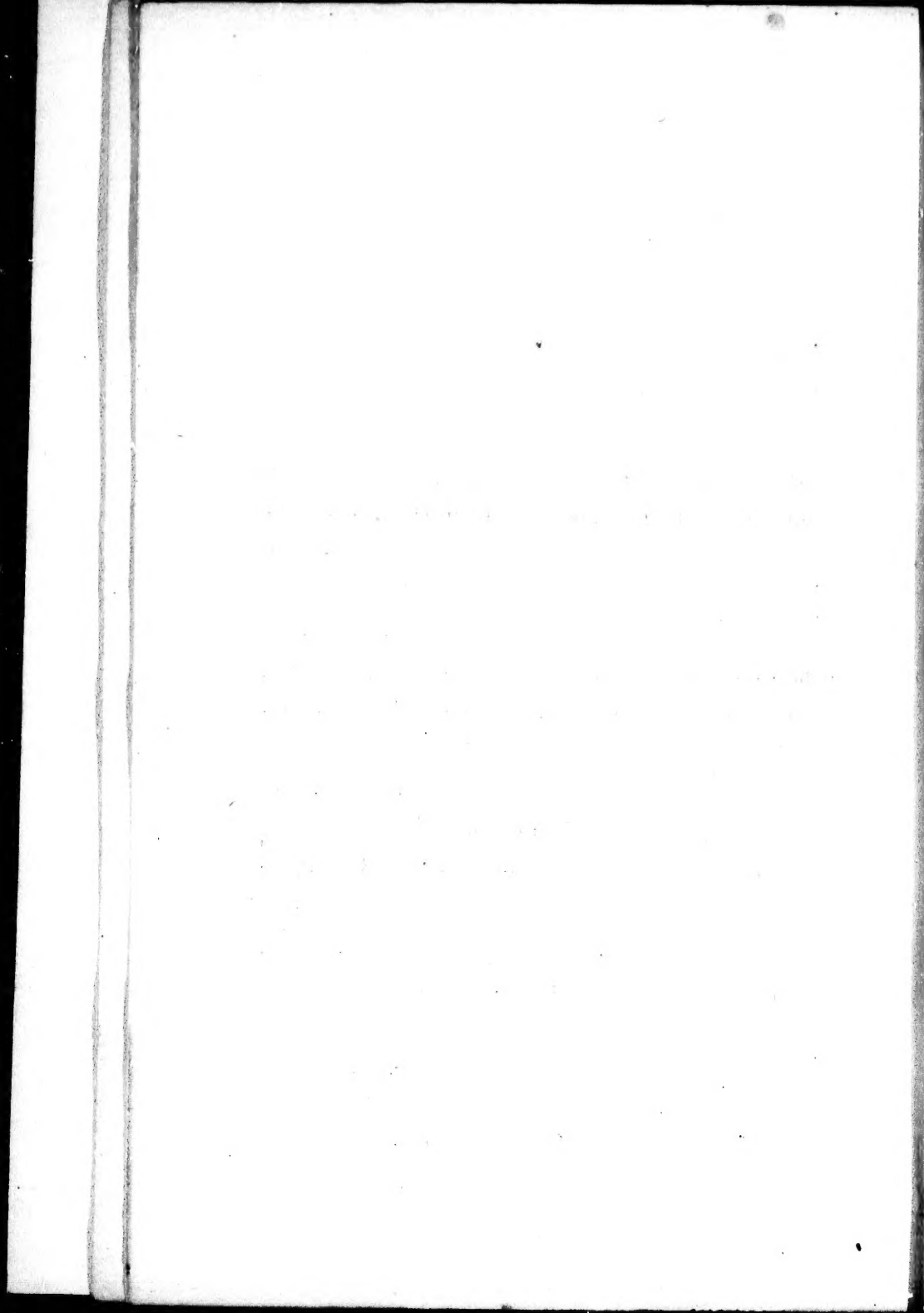
JUNE 7, 1815.

“ And God blessed them, and God said unto them, ‘ Be fruitful
and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it.’—Gen. i. 23.



SYNOPSIS.

The four different causes are enumerated, which, in the early days of the world, induced individuals to forsake their native homes, and fix their abode elsewhere.—From these are collected by analogy four causes of Colonization.—Colonization from the first cause, namely, want of comfortable subsistence in the Parent Country—the necessity which drives men thus to emigrate is commonly the result of human misgovernment.—Colonization from the second cause, namely, the forcible expulsion of men from their country on account of their crimes, or opinions—How this species may be rendered most beneficial.—Colonization from the third cause, namely, a wish to increase the national wealth and power.—Objections to a Colonial System—first, from its instability, and draining the resources of the Parent State—Answer to this objection.—Second objection, that distant Colonies will become independent, and probably hostile to the Mother Country.—This objection considered.—The evil of separation may be retarded by a wise policy.—The advantages of Colonization are immediate and great, though sometimes chequered by incidental evils.—Colonization from the fourth cause, namely, a wish to extend the progress of Civilization and true Religion.—Beneficial effects of this system both to the Colonies and to the Parent State.



*The Effects of distant Colonization on the
Parent State.*

IN the early days of the world, whenever a family became too numerous to subsist in one place, a separation of its members necessarily followed; and the father saw his younger children forsake their paternal roof, and become in their turn the patriarchs of new families in a new place of abode. At other times the causes which led to a parting were more to be deprecated: incorrigible misconduct on the part of a son was sometimes sufficient to dissolve the ties of kindred; and the parent drove out into exile his disobedient child, with no other purpose than that of preserving the peace and happiness of his household, by the expulsion of a wicked or turbulent member.

In the course of human affairs, the removal of evil must ever precede the acquisition of good. When enough had been done to secure to a family subsistence and tranquillity, other motives might

yet be found strong enough to overpower the voice of natural affection. The younger children of the house might not unreasonably wish to add to the comforts of their parent, by procuring for him the beautiful or useful productions of foreign countries; and to improve at the same time their own condition, by exchanging competency for plenty, and enabling themselves to live according to their inclination, and not as necessity compelled them.

Some also there might be found, who might discover yet higher motives for leaving their native home. The head of the family might reflect, that his house, which had flourished for so many ages, might soon, in the natural course of human events, dwindle to decay; and that in the place where it stood there might remain of it no memorial. He would rejoice therefore to see a scion of so revered a stock planted in a fresh soil, where it should spring up in the vigour of youth, and preserve the remembrance of its parent for a thousand generations. He would exult too at the wide diffusion of happiness which this seasonable separation would be the means of producing: he would delight to think, that for his children might be reserved the glory of civilizing and benefiting the

rude peasantry amongst whom they were to dwell ; and would consider, that the most calculating prudence could not condemn him for indulging himself in these pleasures, since they would be accompanied by substantial advantages ; by an increase of wealth, and an accession of influence, at least until the lapse of years should dissolve the intimacy of connection subsisting between the severed branches of his family.

From the different causes which have been supposed to influence individuals in leaving their parental home, may be gathered in close analogy the sources of Colonization. And though the good derived to the state from each of these different ways of relieving it of its subjects be of course exceedingly unequal, yet it should seem that evil could scarcely arise from any of them. To take the first two cases :—we shall find that in one the emigration is the result of simple necessity ; and it can hardly be doubted, but that a country is happier with one million of people, all of whom are provided with a competent maintenance, than it would be with an infinitely greater number, of which a large proportion is pining in want. Under such circumstances the mere removal of a large

body of citizens out of the country is in itself a benefit, as it brings the population to a level with the resources possessed by the state for supplying them with food. But to determine the precise number of inhabitants which a nation is able to support, not by its own natural productions, but by its industry, is a problem which it behoves every statesman to endeavour to solve. It rarely happens but that the distress which leads to emigration arises from causes which are remediable by human wisdom : and though when such distress has actually existed, any means of relieving it may be accounted beneficial; yet how heavy is the responsibility incurred by that government, by whose neglect it comes to pass that the country is forced to cast away its children, like so much unprofitable lumber ; forced to lessen its population, and by consequence its greatness ; forced to amputate a limb in order to preserve life ; when, under a better management, the body with all its members might have been nourished in health and vigour.

The second case, that, namely, where the separation had its origin in feelings of hostility, either in one party or in both, may appear to contain in

it more of difficulty. With regard to criminals however, and persons who are positively mischievous to society at home, to expel them from amongst us must clearly be good; and to endeavour to extract benefit from them in their state of banishment, to form out of them a Colony, where, by a regular continuance in well doing, the convict may be changed into the citizen, appears to offer a picture still more captivating. Yet when we reflect that a Colony of this description, situated probably at a great distance from the Mother Country, and holding out little that could tempt any honest and good man to choose it as his residence, is not very favourable to the reformation of criminals; and that, if it does not tend to reform them, all expences incurred in setting it on foot have been not only useless but pernicious, in thus bringing a mass of evil together in a situation where it will be free from control, and will have every facility for disseminating itself; we shall perhaps hesitate before we decide in favour of such a system, and shall be driven to allow, that in this one instance Colonization seems to be deserted by its usual advantages^a. For those settlements which are composed of persons driven from their homes on account of their opinions, religious or

political, the benefit which the Parent State may reap from their expulsion, must be estimated according to the danger or infectious nature of their tenets. At any rate, in this, and in all cases whatsoever, where it is found necessary to banish any portion of citizens from their country, it is an imperious duty upon the government to make some provision for their future welfare. If this be not done, they will not fail to transfer their allegiance to some rival, probably to some hostile sovereign, and will exert all their talents and industry in revenging themselves, wherever they can, upon the country from which they were exiled.

In proceeding to the third case, or that of regular Colonization undertaken for the purpose of positively increasing the stock of national prosperity, we should be tempted, were we to judge of it theoretically, to draw a far more beautiful picture than the truth of history would realize. From plantations in which human policy improved, without perverting the plain dictates of nature, and followed carefully and wisely the natural progress of events, we might expect nothing but unmixed good: the Parent State at once relieved and strengthened; the very assemblage that burthened

her at home, converted into an accession of wealth and power; her influence widely extended; her supplies and luxuries abundantly increased: not to mention the glory she would derive from disseminating her religion, her laws, and her language over a larger portion of the world. Why, in point of fact, the consequences of Colonization have not been always so beneficial, and how far the evil which has been so often intermixed with them is either accidental, or may admit of remedy or counterpoise to it, will therefore be no unprofitable subject of inquiry.

It has been with many a favourite topic of declamation, to inveigh against the instability of a colonial power, and also to represent Colonies as continual drains upon the resources of the Parent State. The examples of Athens, of Carthage, and of Holland, have been often adduced in support of one or other of these positions: and the conclusion has been rashly drawn, that distant Colonization is therefore an evil. It would be nearer the truth to say, that, like other good things, it is liable to be abused and misapplied; and that the states above mentioned were injured, as far as they were injured, solely from an abuse of the system: while

in the great prosperity which they for a while enjoyed, we may trace the direct beneficial effects of it, struggling against a multitude of disadvantages. That which serves to increase the power of a great and populous nation, may be a weight which a small one is unable to bear; as the foliage which ornaments without weakening the trunk of the oak, bends to the ground the stem of the ivy. Colonization was at first the offspring of necessity: when men became so numerous that the land was not able to bear them, a portion of them naturally sought an abode elsewhere. Does it follow from hence, that a nation should empty itself of half its population, when the whole amount is scarcely sufficient to fill the land, and make it produce to the greatest extent of its resources? To her naval power and her colonies, two things almost inseparably connected with each other, Athens was indebted for her glory and her empire. That in the exercise of her sovereignty she committed innumerable acts of cruelty, to which she was prompted by a consciousness of the natural disproportion between her power and her dominion; and that she was at last obliged to yield to the military confederacy of Peloponnesus; are facts which only prove the insufficiency of the base to support the vast

fabric raised upon it: which show, that when a little state like Attica attempts to rise to an unnatural greatness, the mightiest engines are unable permanently to maintain her in a station, which she is radically unfit to occupy.

The same may be said of Carthage and of Holland. In one case a single city aspired, and almost with success, to the conquest of the world. In the other, seven inconsiderable provinces, preserved from the ocean by unremitting industry, pretended to hold an equal rank with the most powerful kingdoms of Europe. For all that is brilliant in the fortune of either country, for the triumphs of Thrasymenus and Cannæ, for those proud days when De Ruyter insulted the navy of England in her harbours, and when the German Cæsars courted the alliance and protection of the Dutch merchants, both nations are beholden to their commercial and colonial systems. But even these could not achieve impossibilities: so Carthage perished in the course of the unequal contest on which she had ventured; and Holland has gradually descended from her eminence to the rank of a secondary, or third rate, power.

Nor does the example of Spain furnish the adversaries of a colonial policy with arguments more substantial than those which they can derive from the history of the nations already mentioned. The population of that country was little affected by the emigrations to America, and its present amount is far greater than it has been at any former period. And if the industry of the people was damped by the immense importation of gold and silver which followed their first conquests in the new world, this could only prove, not surely that all distant colonies are injurious, but those simply, where the precious metals form the staple commodity transmitted to the Parent State. But we may observe, that the present feebleness of Spain, and its inferiority to some other European nations, not only in industry, but in all moral and intellectual excellence, may be accounted for on much more probable grounds than the ingots of Peru: and in a country where civil and religious despotism have long since reigned uncontrolled, and where the Inquisition has combated with so much energy the progress of all useful knowledge, it might be thought that the causes of degeneracy were not very difficult to discover.

Another accusation brought against the system of colonial policy, has been drawn from the event of that war which deprived Great Britain of her North American Colonies; and will now probably be reinforced with fresh arguments by the struggle in the foreign dominions of Spain. The objection is this: large and distant Colonies must necessarily in process of time become independent; and as no country is disposed willingly to relinquish any part of its power, their independence will certainly be the dear bought fruit of a contest. And as no hostility is so bitter and implacable as that of civil wars, so both parties will retire from the combat with feelings of unsubdued enmity, and the Parent State will find her most inveterate foes in her own children.

This, and the other charge which has been considered above, are most commonly coupled together, when it is wished to paint Colonization in its worst colours. What madness is it, we are told, to drain our resources, and weaken our power, for the very purpose of fostering future enemies. As long as they remain in subjection to us, they will for ever be involving us in wars, and drag us down with an additional load of expence: till in the end, when

we shall have sufficiently lavished our blood and treasure in their behalf, they will suddenly renounce our authority, and attack us with the very power which our bounty has given them. What folly then to compass sea and land for the sake of gaining a prize so ruinous ! Better for every man to sit under his own vine, and eat of his own fig tree ; to live amongst his friends and his brethren, and be gathered to his rest in the sepulchre of his fathers.

It is not the purpose of this Essay to enter into an indiscriminate defence of the Colonizing System, but to discover, if possible, what are its real merits and defects. Like many other questions, it has been too often treated in England as a matter of party ; and the advocates or enemies of a colonial policy have connected their opinions on these points with their tenets respecting commerce and agriculture, a military or a mercantile line of affairs. It is surely possible to examine the subject without prejudice ; to separate the contingent good and evil of Colonization from its natural or necessary results, and so to form a fair judgment on the wisdom or folly of adopting it.

It is true that no nation can hope to hold in

permanent subjection a powerful and remote Colony. In process of time there arises in the Colony a distinct society, and a distinct public spirit; which, finding sufficient scope and employment at home, takes but a faint interest in the welfare of the Parent State. When such a state of things has arisen, the project of a fair and federal union between the Mother Country and its dependencies, even were it practicable, would not long continue to answer its proposed end. A large and growing Settlement would soon become weary of sending representatives to a national council held at the other extremity of the earth; and even if its interests were always fairly consulted, it would be still impatient of seeing itself without a name, and of having all its glory lost and confounded in the exploits of the Parent State^b. It may then be almost considered as an axiom, that a large Colony will always in process of time become independent; and it is nearly as certain, whilst human nature continues the same, that this independence will never be peaceably obtained. It is also greatly to be feared that so much animosity will be engendered in the conflict, that the two Nations will thenceforth consider each other as comprized in the already too

numerous catalogue of natural enemies. This is a melancholy prospect: but it is one, to the truth of which both theory and experience can testify. Even though we were to make some abatement in the darkness of this colouring, and suppose that the conduct of a Nation to its Colonies be more liberal than has usually been the case, and that no such leaven of bitterness mingle in the first origin of the Settlement, as unfortunately tainted the very earliest intercourse of England with her North American dependencies; still the operation of the principles above stated is so universal, that a different result is scarcely to be expected. Is it in human nature to expect such uninterrupted wisdom in any Government, as that no weak Prince, or ambitious Minister, should offer some provocation, however slight, to a powerful and resolute Colony? And when the cup has long been full, and nothing has been wanting but a touch to make it overflow, will no unkindly accident ever supply that deficiency? Or will there never fall upon matter so inflammable some spark, which may suddenly blaze forth, and involve the whole fabric in one fatal conflagration?

There must surely then be some extraordinary

advantages derived from Colonization, which have made all nations so eagerly adopt it, in spite of the ultimate dangers with which it threatens them. Those dangers have been stated freely, and without any disposition to underrate their magnitude: a more agreeable task remains for us, in contemplating the favourable side of the picture.

In the first place, much may be done by a wise policy to retard the dreaded æra of separation. Where the first inhabitants of a new Settlement are men who have fled from their country, on account of the rigour of its laws concerning them, and who find themselves left entirely to their own care in their present abode, their feelings to the land of their fathers can scarcely be of the most kindly nature: and if, in their succeeding intercourse with that land, they experience more of its vexatious restraints and arbitrary enactments, than of its parental tenderness and regard, what wonder is it, if they early become converts to the doctrine which teaches that allegiance and protection are reciprocal; if they are eager to detach themselves from a connection whose evils alone they have experienced? It may be, that in many cases the opinions of the persons exiled were so pernicious

to the existing institutions of the Parent Country, that imperious necessity dictated their expulsion. But such a measure will find its best justification in a subsequent course of attentive zeal and regard to their welfare ; from whence it will become apparent, that in forbidding them to live with us, we were really actuated by motives of self-defence, and not of enmity. In a foreign land they cannot hurt our establishment, but they may be made abundant sources of good : and by a careful provision for their first wants, a sacred regard for their freedom, and a liberal encouragement of their industry, we should in all probability soon remove, or at least assuage, their angry feelings, and convert them into loyal and serviceable subjects^c.

But even where a less friendly system is pursued, a long time must necessarily elapse before a Colony can acquire sufficient strength and consistency to aspire to the rank of an independent Nation. Now there is no principle more generally recognized in human nature, than the indifference with which it regards remote evil when set in the balance against immediate good. Let an event be once deferred, and all its terrors seem to vanish : the mind calculates on a thousand chances which

may occur to prevent its fulfilment; and the uncertainty of human affairs is a truth not less capable of inspiring hope than despondency. But if every man feels this with regard to the short period of his own individual existence, how much more forcibly does it apply to the political life of a State; and how trifling do those evils appear, which will fall only on our children's children, in the thousandth generation! When therefore it is proposed to send out a Colony to a newly discovered region, the keenest and most far sweeping glance can scarcely discern those dim forms of danger which rise so faintly in the remotest distance, when the nearer prospect, for many a league around, is nothing but tranquillity and beauty. Long before the small and dependent band, which is now borne with all its substance in a few barks across the ocean, can become a great and a hostile nation, the country of their fathers may be a wilderness, and the sole remnants of its language and its name be preserved amongst the posterity of its exiled children.

Far less remote is the good which a wise Government may justly hope to derive from its Colo-

nies. No spot on the globe is so worthless, as not to contribute something, when properly managed, to the stock of natural greatness. Either it has commodities which may serve to increase the comforts of mankind; or it is useful in regard to its situation, as a point of support from which its settlers may gradually advance to a better and richer country; some places again, like St. Helena, and the Cape of Good Hope, are convenient as keeping up the chain of communication between the most distant parts of an empire, and as offering valuable stations of refreshment to seamen bound on long and wearisome voyages. In all these Colonies the inhabitants will naturally look to the Mother Country for a supply of many of the necessities, and almost all the conveniences of life: and will therefore secure an ample sale for its manufactures^d, in return for the produce, whatever it be, which they export to it. For a long time too, any Colonist who shall have risen to considerable wealth, will be tempted to transfer it to the Parent State, which, from its superior civilization, appears to offer the fittest place for the enjoyment of the fruits of his industry: and thus a large tribute will be continually poured into the heart of the empire, from

whence it will again circulate through the members, and will multiply itself with unceasing activity.

In attributing to Colonies these beneficial results, it will be understood that we forbear to calculate on several accidents, which have at different times brought ruin upon infant Settlements. An unhealthy climate, against which few precautions have been taken; dissensions amongst the Colonists themselves; the neighbourhood of fierce and numerous tribes of savages; neglect on the part of the Government at home; and other such causes, being no more than incidental evils, and such as may mostly be prevented by wisdom and experience, ought not in fairness to be put in the balance against the benefits of Colonization, which arise from it naturally, and almost necessarily.

Still less will the general question be affected by errors which may have been committed in the detail of commercial regulations between a Colony and its Parent State. In these points the nations of modern Europe are accused of having followed a most illiberal line of policy; of having treated their Colonies more as slaves, than as children.

However that be, the Colony trade has always been highly beneficial^e to the Mother Country; and also, if we may judge from their rapid growth in wealth and power, to the Colonies themselves. Again, whether the system of monopolies be wise or no, is of little consequence to our present argument. Most countries have received benefit from their Colonies, ven though their trade was carried on by exclusive companies. A free trade might perhaps have produced more benefit, but at any rate the effect of Colonization has, even under present circumstances, been decidedly salutary.

It is possible however that the view of the question hitherto taken may to many appear unsatisfactory. Admitting the truth of our whole statement, acknowledging that Colonies do indeed promote the commerce and the riches of the Parent State, they may consider them as on that account only the more prejudicial. Scared by the phantom of luxury, and taught to attribute to that cause the downfall of empires, they will earnestly deprecate a system, which tends in their opinion to gratify unnecessary desires, and foster unbounded profligacy: they will regret that the low and mercenary^f clamour of buyers and sellers should be

suffered to pervade every part of the political fabric, and will feelingly deplore that decay of ancient simplicity, and that avidity for dissipation and folly, which they are apt to consider as the necessary consequence of an extensive commercial intercourse with foreign nations.

In thoughts of this nature it is easy to forget that we are living, as Harrington calls it, "in the dregs of the Gothic empire," and to transport ourselves to all the pleasures of the most beautiful Utopia. We may be sure that no Government will ever, in point of fact, attempt to check the wealth of its subjects for the sake of preserving their morality. Colonization therefore will ever be practised, until some results of a more alarming tendency than an increase of national riches be found to spring from it. But we are not without some consolation to offer to the high-minded patrons of purity and virtue. Though amongst the treasures which Colonization offers to us, eight statues be of gold, a ninth may yet be found of a fairer and more lovely material; and those who despise its gaudy companions, may yet turn with delight to the contemplation of this.

Return we then to those principles, which, at the foundation of our first American Settlements, were professed^s as the motives which should induce our countrymen to join in the enterprize. A language was then held more worthy of Englishmen and of Christians, than that which has in later times superseded it. We were then told, not only that our trade and wealth would be increased, but that fruits far more various in kind, and more excellent in nature, should be the reward of our exertions. For the poorer members of the commonwealth might find in the Colonies a salutary maintenance; a situation where their industry would be encouraged and rewarded: and even if some of more disorderly and profligate habits were numbered amidst the new Settlers, their evil qualities, awed by the example, or curbed by the authority, of their more virtuous associates, might in a distant land be corrected, or at least rendered less noxious; as the weed which we diligently expel from our gardens is tolerated, and perhaps admired, upon the heath or the mountain. Nor was it a small thing to consider how immensely the knowledge of nature would be increased by the discovery of a new world; whose productions,

both animal, vegetable, and mineral, would present a boundless field for the researches of science, and contribute to establish by more numerous examples the soundness of the great inductive positions of natural philosophy. Meanwhile the sight of new countries, and new nations; the prospect of oceans to be crossed, forests to be cleared, and mountains to be climbed; the familiarity with "most disastrous chances, and moving accidents by flood or field," which the stirring recital of such noble enterprizes would communicate to the minds of the people at large; the proud thought of changing at once by their exertions the infancy of the world into its maturity; of elevating the savage to the rank of civilized man; of founding a new nation of Englishmen and of Christians: all these things would implant in the breast an infinite variety of hopes and of motives; would transport the thoughts of the community beyond the range of this "ignorant present," and the little circle of insignificant occurrences which are attached to the every day life of an individual; would give them a wider scope, and a nobler aim; would multiply their faculties, and elevate their intellectual nature. If war itself, with all its horrors, has some-

times been made the subject of eulogy, for the sake of the powerful stimulus which it communicates, and the principles which it calls forth into action: how much more excellent is Colonization, which inspires equal enterprize and courage, fosters and developes equal abilities; and this not for the purpose of creating misery, but of disseminating blessings.

Nor let it be said, that whilst we so highly extol the system of planting distant Settlements, we are undervaluing the sanctity of local affection, or would release mankind from all those ties which bind them to the land in which they were born. We do not purpose to destroy this feeling, but to extend its influence. For in every nation many will be found, who from various causes are become dead to hope and to affection; to whose palled and sickly appetites every object in their native land is distasteful; who regard their country with aversion, and behold in it only the witness of their vices, or the scene of their misfortunes. To men like these emigration to a distant region is like a new state of being, on which they enter with all that freshness of hope, all that liveliness of feeling,

with which in youth they began their former career. A new country may awaken their patriotism, since it has no connection with their sorrows or their remorse; and thus by the happy magic of Colonization, all the energies of the intellect and of the heart are made to spring up in a soil, which before was overgrown with sloth and apathy.

But this is not all: there is yet one inestimable good attendant on the Colonization conducted by the nations of modern Europe, which our great ancestors well knew how to value—the glory and happiness of diffusing the light of the Gospel amongst poor and blinded Pagans. It demands an eloquent pen to sketch worthily the picture of a Colony conducted on principles like these, and a cool judgment to curb the enthusiasm which such a subject can scarcely fail of exciting. But there are some features which will not be overlooked. In the midst of the desert shall flow forth the streams of life; in the gloomy wilderness shall blossom the rose of Sharon. The Colonist shall appear, not bearing in one hand the sword, and in the other the Bible disfigured and polluted with the blood which he has so plentifully shed: the sword

shall be turned into a ploughshare, and the sacred volume shall light his path with its mild and unclouded radiance. A new nation of civilized beings shall be brought into existence; the stock of human happiness largely increased; the expectants of immortality multiplied a thousand fold. The Parent Country shall reflect with comfort, that when the course of human events shall have consigned it to oblivion, its name and language shall be perpetuated by its children in a far distant land. Colonization must ever continue to take place till the earth be fully peopled, in compliance with a necessary law of nature. God's blessing was early pronounced upon it, and therefore it must be in itself capable of producing good. Happy are they who make themselves the instruments of producing it; who crave the honour of being the channel of so much happiness to the world. That for our own country this glory may be reserved, is our natural and pardonable prayer. It will be the crown of all her triumphs, the consummation of all the bounties which Providence has vouchsafed unto her. And our hope is not without foundation. There yet lives within us that mighty spirit by which we have delivered

Europe. Surely it will not be less powerful to create than to destroy; and in the room of that vast fabric of evil which it has overthrown, to build up a more noble and lasting temple of good.

THOMAS ARNOLD, A. B.
CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE.

N O T E S.

Page 9. a.

Lord Bacon strongly condemns such a system of Colonization. "It is a shameful and unblessed thing," he says, "to colonize with convicts and profligate persons." And in fact the Botany Bay scheme has been found to fail; and confinement on board the hulks is now the common punishment of offenders, instead of transportation. The "Journal of a Residence at Tongataboo," and other recent publications, bear testimony to the tremendous mischief which criminals who escape from New South Wales are creating in the islands of the South Sea.

Page 17. b.

A recent experiment has been made, which appears in theory to offer the fairest prospect of preventing, or at least of greatly retarding the separation, by transferring the seat of government to the Colony, and leaving the Mother Country to be administered by a regency. What may be the ultimate effect of this measure it is impossible to say; but whilst Europe continues the most important quarter of the world, it does not seem likely that a prince, even though residing in America, would lightly alienate his European subjects: and as the dignity and name of his

European dominions are too securely established to be in danger of sinking into those of his American states, the transfer of the seat of government appears only to constitute an equitable balance between the two parts of the empire.

Page 20. c.

The struggle for independence, and the consequent spirit of hostility, which have been laid down as almost inevitable, were avoided generally by the Grecian system, according to which every colony was independent at its first foundation. Yet even this could not entirely remove the evil, as was shown by the bitter enmity subsisting between Corinth and Corcyra. Besides, the feelings of modern times, and the immense distance at which modern Colonies are planted, are unfavourable to that reverence and regard which a Grecian Colony entertained for its metropolis, and without which the Parent State could not calculate upon being favoured either in matters of trade, or of war and peace, above other nations. The tenets of the Greeks respecting their "household gods," and indeed their whole mythology, were singularly favourable to that sort of bond of charity which united the two countries.

Page 22. d.

"In the year 1787," says Bryan Edwards, "the value of the exports from Great Britain to the British West

Indies amounted to 1,638,703*l.* 13*s.* 10*d.*; the whole of which, except about 200,000*l.* consisted of British goods and manufactures." "The manufacturers of Birmingham and Manchester; the clothiers of Yorkshire, Gloucestershire, and Wilts; the potters of Staffordshire; the proprietors of all the lead, copper, and iron works; together with the farmers, victuallers, and brewers, throughout the kingdom, have a greater vent in the British West Indies for their respective commodities, than they themselves perhaps conceive to be possible. Even sugar itself, the great staple of the West Indies, is frequently returned to them in a refined state: so entirely do these Colonies depend on the Mother Country; centering in her bosom all their wealth, wishes, and affections."—History of the West Indies, vol. ii. 8vo. edit. p. 460, 461.

Page 24. c.

This is plainly allowed by Adam Smith, one of the most strenuous opponents of commercial restriction and monopoly. "The effects of the Colony Trade are so beneficial, that that trade, though subject to a monopoly, and notwithstanding the hurtful effects of that monopoly, is still upon the whole beneficial, and greatly beneficial."—Wealth of Nations, vol. ii. p. 462.

Ibid. f.

Τύρβη καὶ ἀπειροκαλία. Vid. Xenophon. Cyropæd. lib. 1.

Page 26. g.

See particularly a beautiful pamphlet, entitled, "The New Life of Virginia," printed at London in the year 1612, by an author who signs himself R. I. full of the most just, liberal, and pious views of the duties of Colonists, and the great benefits of Colonization.

Page 29. g.

In an Essay by M. Talleyrand, "Sur les Avantages à retirer de Colonies nouvelles dans les Circonstances présentes," this point is particularly insisted on. "Après les crises révolutionnaires, il est des hommes fatigués et vieilliss sous l'impression du malheur, dont il faut en quelque sorte rajeunir l'ame. Il en est qui voudroient ne plus aimer leur pays, à qui il faut faire sentir qu'heureusement cela est impossible." He then enumerates those persons, for whom "un ciel nouveau est devenu un besoin. Ceux qui, restés seuls, ont perdu, sous le fer des assassins, tout ce qui embellissoit pour eux la terre natale : et ceux pour qui elle est devenue inféconde, et ceux qui n'y trouvent que des regrets, et ceux même qui n'y trouvent que des remords : et les hommes qui ne peuvent se résoudre à placer l'espérance là où ils éprouvèrent le malheur."

